

# THE MILITANT

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## A STEEL WORKER'S VIEW

### McDonald Opponent Appeals To Rank-and-File Discontent

By Henry Austin

[The author, a steelworker, was Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from Michigan's 16th District in 1964.]

DETROIT, Jan. 29 — Indications are that I. W. Abel will be elected president in the elections of the United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO, come Tuesday, Feb. 9.

Two overriding facts stand out in the election contest now taking place between the forces of the incumbent president, David J. McDonald, and those of Abel. First, Abel prepared the way for victory for his slate by lining up a majority of the union's 29 district directors and a legion of staff representatives who directly "administer" the assorted 3,000 local unions for these directors throughout the U.S. and Canada. The key, however, is the rank-and-file steelworker — about a million of them.

Abel is skillfully appealing to the accumulated resentment that has built up among steelworkers over the issue of the four-year wage freeze under McDonald — which involved, in addition, an outright wage cut with the loss of the cost-of-living adjustment. Abel's latest leaflet, for example, is headed: "Time for a change you can see in your paycheck."

Abel began his campaign by shifting the emphasis to contract issues, since the Steelworkers is in the midst of negotiations with the basic steel industry. And the men and women in the mills are mightily concerned about a strike. They have caught, on the rebound, the mood of the rank-and-file auto workers who embarrassed Walter Reuther by striking against GM last October despite Reuther's lavish praise for the new contract pattern. They are in a fighting mood. But they want no part of McDonald's "total job security." What they want to see are some real gains. They want to see their union flex its muscles against the profit-hungry steel companies which are concerned only with "production" and ignore their needs.

Abel has correctly gauged this sentiment. In his initial statement (repeated in an interview with *Steel* magazine Jan. 4) he called for an end to "mutual trusteeship" (McDonald's version of "people's capitalism") and a return to "union trusteeship." "We've got to represent the members, the companies can look out for themselves" — is what he is saying. He places as major points on the contract agenda: 1) cleaning up

the backlog of local problems and unsettled arbitration cases, and 2) raising wages. He then adds that "total" job security is a "nebulous" goal, downgrading it to secondary consideration.

Abel has already grabbed the leadership among the top union echelons. This became apparent when the International Executive Board met Jan. 14 to pass on a proposal from the eleven big steel companies (who traditionally, by agreement with the union, have bargained as a bloc at contract time and set the pattern for the industry). The companies wanted to change the opening date of the 120-day negotiating period from Jan. 1 to Feb. 9.

This, of course, is an old feint. It would give the companies a little more breathing space to stockpile against a strike. They are not in the best position right now, contrary to some published opinion. The economy at the moment is flush and the demand for steel is high. The Abel majority on the IEB easily defeated the McDonald forces on this issue. May 1 remains the strike deadline. Abel knows the rank and file want no extensions.

Abel's first victory, a decisive factor in his running for president, came at the November meeting of the union's Wage Policy Committee. There his forces drove McDonald to the wall in a bitter, heated, two-day meeting and forced through — for the first time in the union's history — the right of a district director to strike a company over local issues even when the national pattern was settled. This rallied to Abel's

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## N.Y. Murder Case Exposes Police Frame-Up Methods

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK — The need for a broadly-based civilian public review board to serve as a watchdog over the New York City Police Department has been emphasized again by the now proven police frame-up of 20-year-old Negro laborer George Whitmore.

Whitmore was cleared of the charge of murdering Janice Wylie and Emily Hoffert in the sensationalized "East Side career girl murder case" after a different man, Ricardo Robles, was arrested and charged with the crime Jan. 26. The "confession" on which the case against Whitmore was based, is acknowledged by the Manhattan District Attorney to be false, and Police Commissioner Michael Murphy has ordered an "investigation."

But Whitmore is still in grave danger from other charges based

on "confessions" extracted from him at the same time as the Wylie-Hoffert "confession." In addition, Murphy's investigation "has the ingredients of a whitewash" according to Paul Gibson, state NAACP legal redress chairman. Gibson was putting it mildly.

Every friend of civil liberties and justice should become familiar with the facts in this case — which is unusual only in that the cops got caught red-handed — and should join a campaign to see that every detail is brought into the full glare of public scrutiny and that Whitmore is freed of all charges based on the false confessions.

Whitmore — who had no criminal record — was arrested April 24, 1964, for questioning in connection with the attempted rape in Brooklyn of Mrs. Elsie Barero. Within a 26-hour period, Brooklyn

detectives obtained three confessions from Whitmore — to the attempted rape, to the murder in Brooklyn of Mrs. Minnie Edmonds, and to the Wylie-Hoffert murders in Manhattan. The "confessions" were witnessed by representatives of the district attorney's offices of Brooklyn and Manhattan.

On April 25, New York City Chief of Detectives Lawrence J. McKearney announced the "solution" of the Wylie-Hoffert case: "We got the right guy — no question about it . . . We have a lot more than his confession."

When Whitmore finally saw his mother, Mrs. Birdine Whitmore, 43, and his court-appointed lawyer, he repudiated all three confessions. From May to October, 1964, he was committed to Bellevue Hospital for psychiatric tests and judged sane. While in the hospital he wrote the story of the confessions. He said he denied the attempted rape when he was first arrested, but that he was then punched in the stomach "many times." He continued:

"Then I was so scared that I was shaking all over. And before I know it, I was saying yes . . . They would say: 'George, didn't you do so and so here and so and so there.' I wouldn't say anything. They would say sure you did. Then they would write it down. And go over it with me. Then call in some more men, and ask me the same question again. I would just repeat what I just learned . . ."

#### "Confessions"

These "confessions" were used as the basis for indictments for all three crimes. Whitmore was convicted on the attempted rape charge in Supreme Court in Brooklyn last Nov. 18. The key evidence was the "confession." Whitmore's lawyers are seeking a new trial on several grounds including derogatory remarks by jurors against the defendant's race. The trial on the Brooklyn murder charge is scheduled for April 5.

Meanwhile, in the more sensational Wylie-Hoffert case the Manhattan District Attorney's office conducted its own investigation in an attempt to nail down the one piece of physical evidence they had — a photograph of a girl re-

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Photo by J.B.

**VIGIL ENDS.** Striking members of New York's Social Service Employees Union maintained around-the-clock vigil in front of jail where their officers were imprisoned for leading Welfare Department strike in defiance of union-busting Condon-Wadlin Law. Leaders were finally released as part of union agreement with city. See story page 2.

## RAUL ROA PROTESTS TO UNITED NATIONS

### Captured Cuban Exiles Admit U.S.-Dominican Aid

Following the capture of a band of counter-revolutionaries secretly landed on the coast of Oriente Province, Raul Roa, Cuba's Minister of Foreign Affairs, submitted a protest to United Nations Secretary General U Thant giving in detail evidence of the complicity of the United States, Dominican Republic and Puerto Rican authorities in the attack.

Roa's letter, dated Jan. 27, declared:

"Members of the 50th Division and mountain militia of the Revolutionary Armed Forces recently discovered, pursued and captured a group of armed foreign agents, consisting of the counter-revolutionary leader Eloy Gutiérrez Menoyo and the mercenaries Noel Salas Santos, Domingo Ortega Acosta and Ramón Quesada, who had disembarked in the south of Oriente Province, at the point known as Punta de Caleta, in the municipality of Baracoa.

"It is reported, in a note published by the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, that the aforesaid agents confessed that they had participated in various subversive activities designed to overthrow the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. They gave precise details concerning the situation of their training and opera-

tional base, their organization, their equipment and facilities and many other particulars which clearly indicate that this is not an independent group but one which has the political and material backing and support of various governments which finance and direct them.

"According to the admissions of its members, the captured counter-revolutionary groups sailed from Punta Presidente, in Manzanillo Bay, at the western extremity of the Dominican Republic, on the frontier with Haiti. With the authorization and support of the authorities, the counter-revolutionary organizations 'Escambray Second National Front', 'Alpha 66' and the 'People's Recovery Movement' has set up a training camp and operational base at Punta Presidente; they have also carried out several raids from William's Island, in the Bahamas, including the piratical attack on the British vessel *Newlane*, in the port of Caribarién, in September 1962. This base is apparently used as a springboard for smuggling successive trained and armed groups from Florida, in the United States of America, via Puerto Rico into Cuba.

"Their weapons, purchased in the United States of America, are

allegedly shipped by the same route to the base at Punta Presidente.

"All the captured mercenaries confessed that the officer appointed by the Dominican Government to take charge of the group at Punta Presidente is a colonel named Juan Folch, a member of that country's armed forces, who was a frequent visitor at the camp accompanied by the counter-revolu-

tionary Cecilio Vázquez, who acted as representative of the 'Escambray Second National Front', 'Alpha 66' and the 'People's Recovery Movement' organizations to the Dominican Government. Another person mentioned in the confessions is General Atila Luna of the Dominican army who, together with the above-mentioned Colonel Juan Folch, maintains close liaison with the mercenaries.

"These are not the only facts which demonstrate the connivance and participation of the Dominican Government in the plans of aggression against Cuba. It also transpires from the above-mentioned statements that on 22 December 1964 Colonel Juan Folch appeared at the camp accompanied by Cecilio Vázquez and a Cuban named Pulido who lives in Dominican territory, and informed Eloy Gutiérrez Menoyo and Noel Salas that his President had already given the 'green light' for the operation, adding that, if they needed air or sea protection, he was prepared to supply it. On the same occasion, Colonel Folch delivered to them grenades and Fal rifle cartridges, which were transported to the base by a Dominican Army truck . . .

"Last December the first con-

(Continued on Page 2)



McDonald



Raul Roa



# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Regular and seasonal sugar-grinding-mill workers in Franklyn, La., recently voted to join the United Packinghouse Workers Union by a vote of 85 to 67. Although the number of workers involved was small, their decision to go union will strengthen a campaign to organize some 2,000 regular and 9,000 seasonal workers employed on similar jobs in Louisiana alone.

Under the Franklyn pattern both sections of workers will be covered by one contract which will help eliminate differences in wages and working conditions to the benefit of both.

In explaining the difficulties of organizing the seasonal workers, UPWA field Representative Edward Shanklin, Sr., shed some light on miserable working conditions in the industry. "It's pretty hard to visit workers at their homes and talk unionism," he said, "when they are working 12-hour shifts, seven days a week, for three months straight."

About 14 million women 16 years of age and over are living in poverty in the U.S., according to a U.S. Labor Department report. Some 10.5 million live in families with a combined income of less than \$3,000 and some 2.3 million are the heads of families. Another 3.5 million who do not live in a family group receive less than \$1,500 a year.

The recent repeal of Indiana's "right-to-work law" has reduced to 19 the number of states still having such "right-to-sab" statutes. Previously, Indiana was the

only Northern industrial state to pass such a law.

Cheating bosses in Michigan underpaid nearly 10,000 workers \$1,681,868 during 1964, according to the Public Contracts division of the U.S. Labor Department.

Violations included refusal to pay time-and-one-half for overtime; failure to pay the minimum wage; and employment of 675 minors in violation of child labor laws.

One year after Studebaker laid off over 7,000 workers at its South Bend plants and moved production of its automobiles to Canada, UAW *Solidarity* ran a feature story on South Bend in its January issue. The gist of it was that as a result of co-operation between labor, industry and government, things weren't too bad there.

*Solidarity* did observe, however, that "jobs open up too slowly and 1,925 workers have exhausted their UC (unemployment compensation)." \*

One of the results of the long-standing failure of AFL-CIO leaders to unionize the South is a wage-cutting tactic developed by Northern corporations.

An example is the threat by U.S. Rubber Company to run away from Providence, R. I., to the low-wage states of North Carolina and Indiana. Last October 700 rank-and-file rubber workers voted two to one against a company proposal of a 30-cents-an-hour wage cut and an 11-cents-an-hour reduction in fringe benefits.

Since then, union leaders have campaigned to yield to the company's pressure. On Jan. 28, a second vote was taken and the results were 329 to 275 in favoring a union-proposed pay cut from an hourly average of \$2.57½ down to \$2.32½.

## Forum on Human Rights Is Slated in New York

NEW YORK — A panel discussion on Human Rights will be held here Feb. 6 under the auspices of the Alliance for Jobs or Income Now. The speakers will be Nathaniel Mbaeve, a representative of the Southwest African National Union, Rev. Daisuke Kitagawa, noted for his efforts on behalf of the rights of Japanese-Americans during World War II, Paul Boutelle, chairman of the New York Freedom Now Party, Reginald Robinson of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and civil liberties attorney Conrad Lynn. Moderator will be Collin Gonze, Tanganyika-born editor of *Africa Today*.

The meeting will be held Saturday, Feb. 6 at 8 p.m. at 17 W. 20th Street, New York City.

## Back in Print Uneven and Combined Development In History

By William F. Warde

60c

Pioneer Publishers  
5 East Third St.  
New York, N.Y., 10003

## School Boycott Reported on at Forum in N. Y.

By David Herman

NEW YORK — Rev. Milton A. Galamison, chairman of the Citywide Committee for Integrated Schools, spoke at the Militant Labor Forum here Jan. 28 about "Operation Shut-Down" — the attempt of the Citywide Committee, supported by other groups, to close 31 segregated junior high schools and the so-called "600" schools for "disturbed" children.

Galamison, who led two massive school boycotts last year, began by pointing out that school segregation in the North is an old story. Before the Civil War, conventions of free blacks and escaped slaves had protested segregated schools.

He cited statistics showing the inferior education given Negro children. According to the best study available — made in 1959-60 — students in the eighth grade of the 31 segregated junior high schools had an average reading level three years below that of eighth-graders in the white schools. More recent studies, he said, indicate the situation has gotten worse.

Galamison characterized the "600" schools [so-called because of the school-numbering system] with a quote from a pupil: "They just keep us here till we're 16, and then they turn us out to be bums."

### Hard Sell

The Board of Education has used Madison-Avenue-type publicity to delude Negro parents into thinking that something is being done to improve their children's schools, declared Galamison. Despite "Operation More" and "Higher Horizons" and such gimmicks, he asserted, "It's the same lousy product."

The school boycott leader described the Allen Report as a program around which all those New Yorkers working for better education could rally. He said the report, which the Board of Education commissioned but has since repudiated, was one of the gains of last year's boycotts.

In the fight against segregated schools, the people were learning all the time, Galamison said. They had found out a number of things wouldn't work, but would go on trying other methods until they reached their goal.

The audience of over a hundred plied Rev. Galamison with questions about the state of the school system. A collection was taken to aid his committee's work.

## N. Y. Welfare Strike Scores Modest Gains

By James Barrett

NEW YORK, Feb. 2 — Mass membership meetings of the two striking welfare unions here voted almost unanimously Jan. 31 to return to work and place the dispute before a city-union "fact-finding" panel including city and union representatives. The votes ended the 28-day strike involving 8,000 of the Welfare Department's 12,500 employees and opened the way for release of 19 union leaders jailed Jan. 20 and Jan. 26 for defying an injunction issued when the strike began Jan. 4.

State Supreme Court Justice Irving Saypol used the state's oppressive Condon-Wadlin Act to jail and fine the unions leaders. The law, passed in 1947, prohibits strikes by public employees and provides penalties for "re-hired" strikers of two days' loss of pay for each day on strike. The fines, if imposed, would result in involuntary servitude, and are clearly unconstitutional.

The two striking unions, the independent Social Service Employees Union and Local 371 of the AFL-CIO State, County and Municipal Employees, are preparing to test the law's constitutionality.

Under terms of the agreement by which the unions voted a return to work, the city will waive the penalties until the constitutional issue is resolved in the courts.

At this point there is no contract and it remains to be seen what the "fact-finding" panel will recommend on the unions' demands for higher wages and better working conditions. Although the SSEU had originally advanced the policy of "No Contract—No Work," both unions agreed to the "fact-finding" panel formula for ending the walk-out. The panel's recommendations will cover all the unions' demands and the city will be "required" to "act upon" the recommendations, according to agreement. This is a change from the city's attitude prior to the strike when it refused to discuss the unions' key demands, labeling them "non-negotiable."

Liberal Democrat Mayor Robert F. Wagner had previously insisted on imposing the Condon-Wadlin penalties — pretending that he would be "breaking the law" if the penalties were withheld. The threat of penalties was the main reason why the strike was not ended earlier.

The strike, the longest by pub-



Mayor Wagner

lic employees in the city's history, took place in defiance of the anti-labor Condon-Wadlin Act. It weakened and indeed may have delivered a death blow to the law. In this sense the strike accomplished an important task for the entire labor movement. The strike also witnessed a significant degree, and showed the effectiveness of, unity-in-action between the two rival unions.

A major result of the strike was the high morale and sense of solidarity with which the strikers returned to their jobs. The strikers feel they have returned to work "with dignity and respect," as one employee put it. High on the list of grievances before the strike was the Welfare Department's "rule by fear," consisting of threats, penalties and arbitrary dismissals of "unruly" employees. Evidence of the new confidence which the workers enjoy was their ability to resist reprisals during the first work day after the strike.

At one center, for example, the office manager informed a girl typist that she could no longer work there because she had refused to cross the picket lines during the strike. Delegates of both unions accompanied the typist to the office administrator — the top functionary — and demanded that the girl be permitted to return to work at once. At first the administrator refused to discuss the matter, saying that he needed "time to think it over." When 200 employees left their posts and refused to work without the typist, she was immediately "reinstated."

## ... Admissions of Captured Cuban Exiles

(Continued from Page 1)

tingent of mercenaries was ready to leave for Cuba in groups of four. When the first group, led by Eloy Gutiérrez Menoyo, landed, it was at once discovered by local peasants, who informed the Revolutionary Armed Forces. The latter instituted a search and took the four men prisoner.

"The other groups, which were to leave on 10 and 20 January 1965, failed to do so, having lost all contact with their leader Gutiérrez Menoyo who had abandoned his communications equipment when he fled . . .

"When the counter-revolutionary leader Eloy Gutiérrez Menoyo and his companions were captured, they were found in possession of four Fal rifles with eleven magazines, \$1,100 in Cuban currency, and documents. Earlier they had abandoned a T-22-ARG-5 radio transmitter, a receiver, a case containing 312 cartridges for Fal rifles, several armbands of the counter-revolutionary organizations, the 'People's Recovery Movement', 'Alpha 66' and the 'Escambray Second National Front', three knapsacks and cases containing tinned foods.

"The Cuban authorities have been able to deduce from the tes-

timony of the agent Eloy Gutiérrez Menoyo that the cunning attack on the Spanish merchant ship 'Sierra Aranzazu' was carried out by the Cuban counter-revolutionary Manuel Artime's pirate group, which is working at the present time under the orders of the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States Government, and operates from bases established by this Agency at various points in the Caribbean region.

### U.S. Complicity

"It is important to note that, when the second group was waiting to set out from Playa Joyuda in Puerto Rico, bound for the Dominican Republic, the local police took over the house and equipment, but, following representations by the authorities of the colonial government of Puerto Rico, this was countermanded and the mercenaries were allowed to depart.

"The facts described, taken from the culprits' own statements, show irrefutably that the government of the Dominican Republic, together with the colonial government of Puerto Rico and in open complicity with the government of the United States of America, is committing acts of aggression against our sovereignty, providing mercenaries

with bases for training and subversion in its territory and with weapons and military equipment for their predatory activities; this corroborates the complaint made on 11 December 1964 by Major Ernesto Guevara, head of the Cuban delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, in which he drew attention in specific terms to the responsibility of the U.S. government and the governments of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and other Caribbean countries in connection with these events . . .

Roa also listed the names and counter-revolutionary affiliations of 20 mercenaries and a deputy of the Dominican Republic remaining at the base at Punta Presidente. He further listed the weapons and munitions in their possession, all of U.S. origin, and gave a description of their fast motor launch.

The facts cited by Roa confirm the charges published in *The Militant* Jan. 25 that Cuban counter-revolutionaries were being trained on a Dominican island. That revelation was reprinted from *El J 14*, underground publication of the 14th of June Movement, the principal revolutionary force in the Dominican Republic.

## Weekly Calendar

**BOSTON**  
THE CIA — ITS ROLE IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. Speaker, Judith Wyatt. Fri., Feb. 12, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. (one block from Mass. Ave.) Rm. 307. Contrib. 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

**CHICAGO**  
MARXISM AND EXISTENTIALISM — Are the Two Philosophies Compatible? Speaker, William F. Warde, author of *An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism*. Fri., Feb. 12, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Rm. 204. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY FROM THE ANCIENT GREEKS TO THE PRESENT**, two lectures by William F. Warde, Sat. & Sun., Feb. 13 & 14, 11 a.m. 302 S. Canal St. Rm. 204. For more information call WE 9-5044. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

**LOS ANGELES**  
THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Tues., Feb. 16, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed. Feb. 17, 9 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

**MINNEAPOLIS**  
WHAT ROAD TO PEACE? Speaker, Everett Luoma. Fri., Feb. 12, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Hall 240 Aup. Fri. Night Socialist Forum.

**NEW YORK**  
THE BLACK MAN'S FATE IN JOHNSON'S "GREAT SOCIETY." Speaker, Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party '64 Presidential Candidate. Fri., Feb. 12, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

A SOCIALIST VIEW OF THE NEWS. Hear Harry Ring, Militant staff writer, on WBAI-FM (99.5 on the dial). Thur., Feb. 11, 7:45 p.m. (repeated Fri., Feb. 12, 9:15 a.m.)

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# Radio Interview With Malcolm X

[Harry Ring, *Militant* staff writer, has been delivering a series of news commentaries over radio station WBAI-FM in New York. His program of Jan. 28 was devoted to an interview with Malcolm X. The following is a transcript of the interview.]

**Ring:** Many whites who are sympathetic to the Freedom Now Movement are generally critical of that section of the movement known as the Black Muslims or Black Nationalists. I think this is due in good measure to the lack of unbiased information as to what those described as Black Nationalists really stand for, and I think this lack of accurate information is the product of a deliberate policy of distortion and misrepresentation by the general news media.

I think, for example, that one of the most misrepresented and maligned public figures in this country today is Malcolm X, leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., and chairman of the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Because I feel his views have been so badly distorted, I have invited Malcolm X to be my guest on this program to ask him some questions to get at what he really believes.

**Minister Malcolm,** it is just a year since you have been associated with Elijah Muhammad and his Nation of Islam. Have your views changed since then and, if so, can you indicate in what way they have changed?

**Malcolm X:** Well, I have been traveling and my scope has broadened. For one thing, I believe in the religion of Islam which automatically teaches us the brotherhood of man. Whereas as a follower of Elijah Muhammad, I said that I believed in the religion of Islam but his teaching or version of it was not based upon the brotherhood of man. It was against people just on the basis of their color. But my beliefs now are 100 percent against racism and against segregation in any form and I also believe that in the religion of Islam, as I now understand it, that we don't judge a person by the color of his skin but, rather, by his behavior, by his deeds and we think that this is justified.

**Ring:** Let me ask you a question about a problem that disturbs many white supporters of the Freedom Now Movement. Why do you reject the concept of non-violence?

**Malcolm X:** Well, we think that when non-violence is taught to the Ku Klux Klan or the White Citizens Council or these other elements that are inflicting extreme brutality against blacks in this country, then we would accept it. If we're dealing with a non-violent enemy, then we would be non-violent, too. But as long as our people in this country have to face the continued acts of brutality on the part of the racist element in the North as well as in the South, then I don't think that we should be called upon to be non-violent. When they'll get non-violent, we'll get non-violent.

**Ring:** A week or so ago, Police Commissioner Murphy asserted that the recent warnings of danger of a new outbreak in Harlem could actually provide the fuel for such an outbreak. I know that you were one of those who recently made such a warning. What would you say about this?

**Malcolm X:** Well, Commissioner Murphy's attitude is one of the things primarily responsible for much of the ill feeling among the races and especially in the black communities like Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and other places. When he says — when he warns — against anyone mentioning that there is a great chance for continued violence this summer, what he is doing is trying to stick his head in the sand.

His attitude is the same as the American attitude toward the existence of China. The general American attitude is that Americans are supposed to pretend that 700 million Chinese don't exist and that a little island off the coast of China is China. Well now, Commissioner Murphy has this same attitude toward the conditions that exist in the black community. These conditions are so explosive that it is impossible for them to continue to exist without there being violent explosions.

Instead of Police Commissioner Murphy involving himself in some kind of work that will eliminate the causes of these explosions, he wants to condemn the people who are pointing toward the continued existence of these conditions and who at the same time are warning that the continued existence of the causes are going to create the explosions.

So I think that the Police Commissioner is probably the best example of an imbecile. I hate to use this kind of word on your program, but he actually has a very imbecilic approach to the problems that exist in the black community and his continued mouthing of this type of thing will do nothing to better the condition; rather, it makes the condition worse.

**Ring:** One question that I've wondered about — in several of your lectures you've stressed the idea that the struggle of your people is for human rights rather than civil rights. Can you explain a bit what you mean by that?

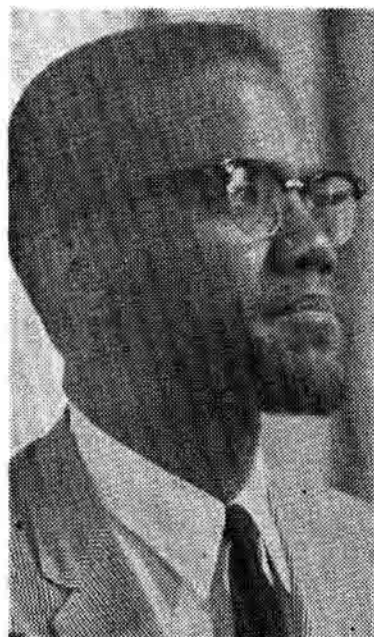
**Malcolm X:** Civil rights actually keeps the struggle within the domestic confines of America. It keeps it under the jurisdiction of the American government, which means that as long as our struggle for what we're seeking is labeled civil rights, we can only go to Washington, D.C., and then we rely upon either the Supreme Court, the President or the Congress or the senators. These senators — many of them are racists. Many of the congressmen are racists. Many of the judges are racists and oftentimes the president himself is a very shrewdly camouflaged racist. And so we really can't get meaningful redress for our grievances when we are depending upon these grievances being redressed just within the jurisdiction of the United States government.

On the other hand, human rights go beyond the jurisdiction of this government. Human rights are international. Human rights are something that a man has by dint of his having been born. The labeling of our struggle in this country under the title civil rights for the past 12 years has actually made it impossible for us to get outside help. Many foreign nations, many of our brothers and sisters on the African continent who have gotten their independence, have restrained themselves, have refrained from becoming vocally or actively involved in our struggle for fear that they would be violating U.S. protocol, that they would be accused of getting involved in America's domestic affairs.

On the other hand, when we label it human rights, it internationalizes the problem and puts it at a level that makes it possible for any nation or any people anywhere on this earth to speak out in behalf of our human rights struggle.

So we feel that by calling it civil rights for the past 12 years, we've actually been barking up the wrong tree, that ours is a problem of human rights.

Plus, if we have our human rights, our civil rights are automatic. If we're respected as a human being, we'll be respected as a citizen; and in this country the black man not only is not re-



Malcolm X

spected as a citizen, he is not even respected as a human being.

And the proof is that you find in many instances people can come to this country from other countries — they can come to this country from behind the Iron Curtain — and despite the fact that they come here from these other places, they don't have to have civil-rights legislation passed in order for their rights to be safeguarded.

No new legislation is necessary for foreigners who come here to have their rights safeguarded. The Constitution is sufficient, but when it comes to the black men who were born here — whenever we are asking for our rights, they tell us that new legislation is necessary.

Well, we don't believe that. The Organization of Afro-American Unity feels that as long as our people in this country confine their struggle within the limitations and under the jurisdiction of the United States government, we remain within the confines of the vicious system that has done nothing but exploit and oppress us ever since we've been here. So we feel that our only real hope is to make known that our problem is not a Negro problem or an American problem but rather, it has become a human problem, a world problem, and it has to be attacked at the world level, at a level at which all segments of humanity can intervene in our behalf.

**Ring:** In the recent debate on the Congo in the United Nations, a number of spokesmen for the African nations condemned the U.S. intervention in the Congo and they likened the United States' role in the Congo to its treatment of the black people in Mississippi. One reporter at least — I believe from the New York Times — said that you were at least in part responsible for the African delegates taking this position.

**Malcolm X:** I have never taken responsibility or credit, you might say, for the stance taken by the African nations. The African nations today are represented by intelligent statesmen. And it was only a matter of time before they would have to see that they would have to intervene in behalf of 22

million black Americans who are their brothers and sisters.

And it is a good example of why our problem has to be internationalized. Now the African nations are speaking out and linking the problem of racism in Mississippi with the problem of racism in the Congo and also the problem of racism in South Vietnam. It's all racism. It's all part of the vicious racist system that the Western powers have used to continue to degrade and exploit and oppress the people in Africa and Asia and Latin America during recent centuries.

And when these people in these different areas begin to see that the problem is the same problem and when the 22 million black Americans see that our problem is the same as the problem of the people who are being oppressed in South Vietnam and the Congo and Latin America, then the oppressed people of this earth make up a majority, not a minority. Then we approach our problem then as a majority that can demand, not as a minority that has to beg.

**Ring:** I noticed that you mentioned the problem of Vietnam. Generally, you're associated with concerning yourself with the problems of black people. How do you see the problem of U.S. intervention in Vietnam as related to the problems of your people?

**Malcolm X:** It's a problem anytime the United States can come up with so many alibis not to get involved in Mississippi and to get involved in the Congo and involved in Asia and in South Vietnam. Why that, right there, should show our people that the government is incapable of taking the kind of action necessary to solve the problem of black people in this country. But at the same time she has her nose stuck into the problems of others everywhere else.

We see where the problem of Vietnam is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The problem in the Congo is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The problem in Mississippi and Alabama and New York is the problem of the oppressed and the oppressor. The oppressed people all over the world have the same problems and it is only now that they're becoming sufficiently sophisticated to see that all they have to do to get the oppressor off their back is to unite and realize that it is one problem — that our problems are inseparable. And then our action will be inseparable. Our action will be one of unity and in the unity of oppressed people is actually the strength, and the best strength of the oppressed people.

**Ring:** To get back to the problem of Harlem. I noticed that last week a group of Harlemites who

had been without heat and hot water for over a week went down to City Hall and sat down in the mayor's office. A few days later I read that the housing commissioner had decided that the city would make repairs on buildings that required it and bill the landlord.

He made it known — and I had never known this before — that a law had been on the books for many years permitting the city to do this — that they had done it during the depression a few times, but it's never been used since. Now it seems to me that this action by these Harlem tenants brought this about. Do you think that effective gains can be made through this kind of action?

**Malcolm X:** Definitely. Whenever our people are ready to take any kind of action necessary to get results, they'll get results. They'll never get results as long as they play by the ground rules laid down by the power structure downtown. It takes action to get some action, and this is what our people have to realize. They have to organize and become involved in well coordinated action which will involve any means necessary to bring about complete elimination of the conditions that exist — conditions that are actually criminal. Not only unjust but criminal!

**Ring:** You've said that your attitude on many questions has changed in the past year. How about your attitude toward the established civil-rights organizations?

**Malcolm X:** I'm for whatever gets results. I don't go for any organization — be it civil-rights or any other kind — that has to compromise with the power structure and has to rely on certain elements within the power structure for their financing and which puts them in a position to be influenced and controlled all over again by the power structure itself.

I'm for anything that they're involved in that gets meaningful results for the masses of our people — but not for the benefit of a few hand-picked Negroes at the top who get prestige and credit, and all the while the masses' problems remain unsolved.

**Ring:** But would you support concrete actions of these organizations if you feel they go in the right direction?

**Malcolm X:** Yes. The Organization of Afro-American Unity will support fully and without compromise any action by any group that is designed to get meaningful immediate results.

**Ring:** I'm sorry, but that's all we'll have time for. It's been a pleasure to talk to you and I want to wish you every success in your efforts.

**Malcolm X:** Thank you.

## Mississippi Negro Youth, 18, Shot by Cops While in Prison

Mississippi cops murdered Ollie Shelby, an 18-year-old Negro youth, Jan. 22. Shelby had been sentenced two hours earlier to six months for allegedly making "indecent gestures" at a white woman.

Shelby was tried, convicted and executed in Jackson, the Mississippi capital, all on the same day. The chief deputy sheriff gave this account of the killing:

"He attacked a city policeman in the elevator. Then he jumped another city policeman in the jailer's office and tried to take his gun away. I walked in. He whirled around and knocked me down. Then he started beating on the jailer. One of the deputies asked him to be quiet. He fired a warning shot, and then he shot him."

According to this story there were at least six officers present

at the time of the shooting — two city cops, the jailer, the chief deputy, and at least two other deputies. It is an obvious fabrication that six men couldn't subdue one youth — particularly when we read that they shot him because he wouldn't "be quiet."

This latest example of white-supremacist "justice" provoked a strong protest from the Mississippi NAACP, led by Charles Evers, whose brother was murdered in Jackson June, 1963. Beckwith, the killer of Medgar Evers, is free and unpunished after two trials.

Mississippi Governor Paul Johnson refused to receive an NAACP delegation about the Shelby killing. A Jackson judge banned a protest demonstration. NAACP leaders decided to abide by the injunction and to contest it in the courts.

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Monday, February 8, 1965

## Need to End the Death Penalty

It has now been proven that George Whitmore, the 20-year-old Negro laborer, was framed up on a murder charge by means of a "confession" forced from him by the police. The Whitmore case should serve as a spur to the movement to abolish capital punishment.

There are many arguments against capital punishment, including the well-established fact that it does not deter crimes of violence, and the fact that in the United States it is an instrument of race and class injustice. But the most important reason for its abolition is that many innocent people are executed.

The Jan. 28 *New York Times* quotes an officer of the police department commenting on the Whitmore case as follows: "It's an awful thing, but sooner or later things like this happen. I hate to say this, but I'm sure that sometime in history we've sent innocent men to their death by an unjust verdict."

Assistant Manhattan District Attorney Peter Koste, who was assigned to the Whitmore case, said: "I was one of those who was absolutely sure that Whitmore had killed the girls. There was no doubt in my mind — reasonable, beyond a shadow or any other kind. Now I'm satisfied Whitmore is innocent."

One of the District Attorneys concerned with the case said: "If this had not been a celebrated case; if this case hadn't got the tremendous publicity; if this was what we so-called professionals call a run-of-the-mill murder, Whitmore might well have been slipped into the electric chair and been killed for something he didn't do."

That is the most striking fact about this case. It is unusual, not for the injustice involved, but for the fact that the injustice has come to light.

The fact that Whitmore was poor, poorly educated, virtually friendless and black is what made it possible for this injustice to be done to him. These are also the characteristics which are common to the great majority of those who suffer the death penalty in the United States. The defendant of wealth, power or influence rarely goes to the electric chair or the gas chamber, no matter how guilty he is. But many an innocent man — friendless, poor and subject to racial prejudice — has been executed.

## Some Facts on Anti-Poverty 'War'

Just how great Johnson's "War on Poverty" is going to make the "Great Society" can be partially gauged by the accomplishments of the Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA), the federal agency which is supposed to channel funds into depressed areas.

ARA, which was one of Kennedy's New Frontier gimmicks, was set up in 1961 and has been operating for two years. In this time, according to *Barron's*, the Wall St. weekly paper, ARA has expended over one billion dollars: \$14 million to retrain unemployed; \$111 million loaned to local industry; and \$932 million for public works projects.

How many jobs did this more than a billion dollars actually create? The retraining program — which doesn't create new jobs — handled a total of 19,000 workers, of whom about 12,000 found jobs.

In public works, ARA created exactly 9,533 new man-months of on-site labor, or a little less than 800 full-year jobs.

By far the greatest amount of such government spending goes into the coffers of big business — through low-rate loans and financing for new plants — and a good deal of the federal money goes to high salaries for deserving politicians serving as officials in the "war on poverty."

It doesn't take any guessing, with figures like these, to calculate the probable effect of the program in 1965: a few workers may get jobs or temporary work but most of the money will end up in the pockets of the businessmen and politicians.

## Local Directory

**BOSTON.** Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307.

**CHICAGO.** Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

**CLEVELAND.** Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio. Telephone: 391-1425.

**DENVER.** Militant Labor Forum, Telephone 222-4174.

**DETROIT.** Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

**LOS ANGELES.** Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

**MILWAUKEE.** 150 E. Juneau Ave.

**MINNEAPOLIS.** Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1

to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

**NEWARK.** Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

**NEW YORK CITY.** Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.

**OAKLAND-BERKELEY.** Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 651, Main Post Office, Oakland 12, Calif. Phone 562-4687.

**PHILADELPHIA.** Militant Labor Forum, P.O. Box 8412.

**ST. LOUIS.** Phone Evergreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.

**SAN DIEGO.** San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif. For labor and socialist books. Sign of the Sun Books, 4705 College Ave.

**SAN FRANCISCO.** P.O. Box 239 Main Post Office, San Francisco, Calif. Telephone: 863-2453.

**SEATTLE.** 3815 5th N. E. Library, book store. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7440.

## Committee Opposes Probe by HUAC of Right-Wing Groups

LOS ANGELES — The National Committee to Abolish HUAC has expressed "alarm at suggestions lately that the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) investigate the Minutemen, the American Nazi Party, and other rightist groups." Author-lecturer Harvey O'Connor, chairman of the abolition committee, urged in letters sent to all Congressmen on Feb. 1, that they "oppose investigations by HUAC regardless of the viewpoints of those attacked."

Several Congressmen and newspapers have recently called for such investigations. Rep. Joelson (D-N.J.) called for an investigation of the Minutemen by HUAC in a speech in Congress on Jan. 11. Rep. Cameron (D-Calif.) has asked HUAC Chairman Rep. Willis (D-La.) to investigate the Nazis. Several newspapers have editorially joined the move.

### HUAC's Powers

O'Connor's letter stressed that there are adequate tools of government to deal with overt actions of these groups. He said that HUAC has power to investigate only in areas of speech, press, assembly, and petitioning, and that these areas are protected by the First Amendment. O'Connor suggested that "the ideas and political activities of dissident groups are not what we have to fear; the heart of our democracy rests on the citizen's right to say what he thinks without fear of governmental coercion."

O'Connor added that "it is ironic that HUAC is now being called on by some to check rightist activity, for the Committee's admittedly unevaluated files (protected from libel proceedings by legislative immunity) have fed the attacks on citizens by such groups."

## Lobbyists in Washington Urge Abolition of HUAC

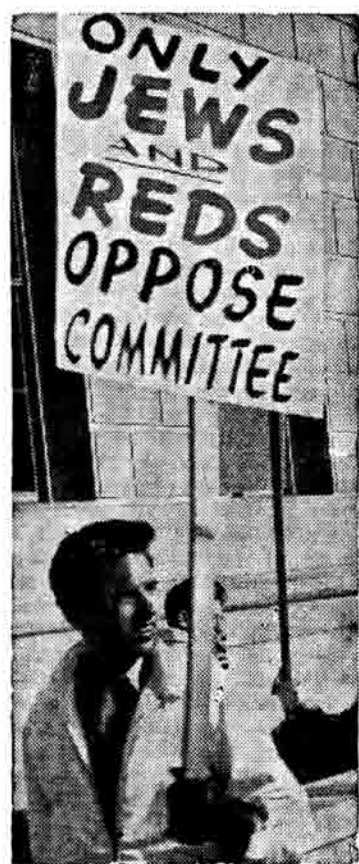
While 100 New Yorkers organized by the New York Council to Abolish HUAC picketed outside the Justice Department in Washington, D.C., on Jan. 27, Rev. Lee H. Ball, executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, and Al Turbane, a representative of District 65 (Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO) spoke for a delegation of six selected by the group to see two top Justice Department aides.

They spoke for 50 minutes to Farrell Reis, Executive Assistant to Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach and J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General in charge of Internal Security. Speaking of HUAC, Turbane said, "As trade unionists, we believe in full discussion; this committee prevents it. We view these prosecutions with a jaundiced eye. You are being used by HUAC to prosecute these people."

The prosecutions referred to were of Russell Nixon, general manager of the *National Guardian*, and Donna Allen and Dagmar Wilson, two women peace leaders. They have been cited for contempt by HUAC for refusing to testify in closed session about their peace activities. Trials for the three are scheduled next month, and the New York Council was attempting to no avail to get the Justice Department to stop the prosecutions.

### Justice Fails in South

One of the selected group, a youth who had participated in last summer's Mississippi project, told Reis and Yeagley of the failure of Justice Department officials to investigate after he had been shot in the back. He contrasted this inaction with the speed with which Nixon and the two peace leaders



LIKE HUAC. American Nazis counter-picketing in support of House witch-hunters during an anti-HUAC demonstration.

had been indicted following their refusal to testify before HUAC last December.

The group also lobbied congressmen to oppose granting HUAC extra funds when the budget comes up in the House of Representatives. HUAC usually receives a third of a million dollars.

## ... Steelworkers Union Election Contest

(Continued from Page 1)

standard many previously undecided staff men and directors who are more sensitive to the rumblings of discontent "down below."

The top candidates on the Abel slate — Abel, Walter Burke and Joseph Molony — are of course not new faces in the top leadership of the union, and they therefore share much of the guilt for the situation steelworkers are now in. All three were organizers when the Steel Workers Organizing Committee was formed by John L. Lewis in 1937, and they've been district directors respectively since 1942, 1946 and 1942. However, they came out of the mills into the union leadership, not from an office staff as did McDonald and his predecessor, Philip Murray.

The Huntley-Brinkley news report has described the Abel-McDonald fight as a "palace revolution," implying there is not much significance to it. The "neither side is innocent" argument is used by some rank and filers — but not many — as an excuse for voting for McDonald. Here in Michigan, the president of Local 2659, who holds a similar position, declared when Abel first announced his candidacy: "Why they've both been sleeping in the same bed for 20 years." (Local union officers, incidentally, are not a factor in this election. They were elected last June for three years and can afford to ride out the storm.)

Actually, the shake-ups that are going on within the trade-union bureaucracy in the current round of elections has much greater significance than just the spoils of office for the victors. Certain layers of the bureaucracy are becoming concerned over the continuing decline in labor's position in the relationship of class forces in the United States. As practical "union reps," they see a serious threat to the bargaining position of the union movement. They are anxious

to reverse the impression that union leaders are becoming a tail to the company kite.

I. W. Abel is taking full cognizance of this in his campaign. In the Jan. 15 *Spotlight*, a news bulletin he is now scattering throughout the steel mills, he openly rejects the "tuxedo leadership" of David J. McDonald, and repeats his earlier declarations about his determination to "restore rank-and-file control over basic policy." To a steelworker, "basic" policy means wages and conditions.

Abel makes the blunt statement in *Steel* magazine that "we're in the midst of a technological revolution that is making skills obsolete and threatening the jobs of men 50 to 55 years of age." What Abel touches on here is what every steelworker sees on the job — a rapid increase in the transformation of steel production, from oxygen furnaces to continuous casting to tower pickling to automatic controls on tandem mills. Just reading the trade journals of the steel industry can make one dizzy at the number of automatic devices on the drawing boards — some of them going into operation — that are continually refining the process of steel production.

### Big Business "Boom"

Underlying this situation is four years of the best "boom" in American history. Steelworkers, like other workers, have been cudgelled and molded into the most efficient workers in capitalist history. Driven by the three-headed bludgeon — the McCarthy witch hunt, the disciplinary powers the contracts give steel bosses, and the McDonald receiverships over recalcitrant, more militant locals — steelworkers have by their productive labor helped this "boom" along.

And the steel bosses have been able to plow their generous profits into this fantastic program of

"modernization" which undermines the security of the workers' livelihood.

The other side of the coin is that steelworkers are feeling the pinch of inflation. The creeping inflation which a huge federal cold-war budget promotes, with its enormous kickback in profits to the varied and sundry industries, has only added to their woes. Even with one day at time-and-a-half pay in the four-week, four-shift set-up common in steel, the pay often doesn't cover the family budget and many steelworkers work part time elsewhere or else their wives get part-time work.

The plain fact is steelworkers are beginning to add up the score. They're getting sick and tired of McDonald's "mutual trusteeship" which is giving the steel bosses all the benefits and the workers nothing worth counting on. Abel is responding to this present mood and this gives him the edge over McDonald.

Of course, Abel himself belongs to those mossbacks whose moral cowardice and subservience to class collaboration and Democratic Party politics have contributed to the worsening situation of steelworkers. But Abel, like other more alert counterparts in the union bureaucracy, is assessing the situation as favorable for a turn. The lessening of the witch-hunt atmosphere in the country and the unusual economic boom are producing a thaw. The ranks are pressing for a change for the better.

The analogy with the famous 20th Congress in the USSR where Khrushchev chopped down the myth of Stalin's infallibility comes to mind in this Steelworkers campaign. Abel, that long-time faithful lieutenant of Phillip Murray and McDonald, is coming down with the axe. This can only mean progress for rank-and-file steelworkers. On with the thaw, say I. And more of it.



## WITCH-HUNT IN INDIANA

## A Crucial Civil-Liberties Case

By Barry Sheppard

In a split decision, the Indiana Supreme Court on Jan. 25 upheld indictments against three Indiana University students, Tom Morgan, Ralph Levitt and James Bingham, and ruled that the Indiana Anti-Communism act was constitutional. This ruling has made the case of the Bloomington students the most important civil-liberties fight in the country today, and these are the reasons why:

1) *The indictments are a direct attack upon academic freedom.* This is the first time in American history that students have been indicted for their campus activities. It is clear that the purpose of this persecution is to intimidate students and faculty, and to inhibit free discussion, inquiry and advocacy of ideas on campus.

As the Indiana Civil Liberties Union put it, "in the atmosphere generated by such a statute and under the threat of punishment which it imposes, neither the educational institutions of this state nor its inhabitants generally can discuss social problems, nor can citizens air their grievances in the tradition of freedom..."

The majority of the State Supreme Court placed itself on the side of witch hunt on campus and warned the faculty: "No teacher

has a right to hide behind the phrase 'academic freedom' and use a classroom assembly to advocate the violent overthrow of a government, in violation of his sacred trust to the parents and citizens of the state that pay him. A state has the inherent right to take measures in self-preservation against any such activity, wherever it may take place — in the homes, in the schools or on the public square."

2) *The law violates the Bill of Rights.* The law and the indictments make a peaceful assembly a crime. The students are charged with advocating certain "doctrines" and ideas. This is a clear restriction and attack on freedom of speech and assembly protected by the Bill of Rights.

In answer to this point, the Indiana Supreme Court majority made this dangerous and absurd reply: "We are restrained on the streets and on the highways in our liberty of action. . . . Absolute and unlimited freedom in a 'society' is only the reverse side of the coin of anarchy. No government of law and order would be possible under the doctrine of unlimited freedoms. Speech cannot, in an organized society, be totally unrestrained."

Not only does this law make speech and assembly a crime, the

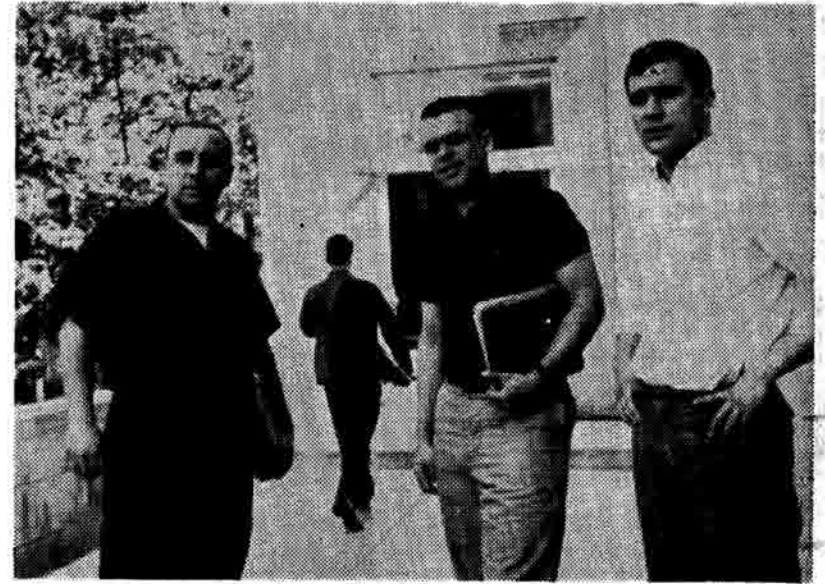
indictments brought under the law do not even charge the defendants with having made a speech. Prosecutor Hoadley said in a bill of particulars that *someone* else spoke at the assembly in question. The law and the indictments therefore assume guilt by association.

In the bill of particulars demanded by the defense, Hoadley also said, "... the indictment is not based exclusively upon any one 'meeting' or 'gathering' or 'speech' but upon the totality of events constituting a conspiracy, encompassing the defendants' participation in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Ad Hoc Student Committee to Oppose U.S. Aggression, and the Young Socialist Alliance..."

In other words, Hoadley intends to prosecute the three students for their ideas and activities as socialists. The defense pointed out to the Indiana Supreme Court that this is not what they are charged with. They are charged with having "assembled" at one "meeting," on May 2 (the charge concerning the March 25 meeting has now been dropped by Hoadley). The majority of the Court simply ignored this fact and didn't mention it in their opinion.

Defense lawyers Boudin and Taylor also pointed out that the law is so vague that the defendants can't possibly know what they are charged with. The dissenting judge based his opinion on this fact.

3) *The ruling favors "state's rights."* The defense argued that the Indiana law was pre-empted by federal legislation. A similar law in Pennsylvania was struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court on this ground. The majority of the Indiana Supreme Court rejected this decision out of "concern" for "state's rights." They said,



FACE NEW PROSECUTION. Ralph Levitt, James Bingham and Tom Morgan (left to right) defendants in Indiana "subversion" case.

"During argument it was stated that the United States Attorney General issued an order recently to all United States district attorneys that no prosecutions should be initiated or carried out under the Smith Act. . . . The rationale of pre-emption and its application to this case would therefore result in nothing more than the startling result that one man — the United States Attorney General — would hold practically dictatorial sway over the protective measures and possible life of each state government."

The argument for "state's rights" is once again used to justify reactionary legislation and prosecution. If this ruling stands, then gains made during the post-McCarthy period, with the Nelson decision and others, would be lost. The witch hunt would be intensified by reactionary thought-control laws and prosecutions, such as the Indiana law and its use against these students, in the states. This in turn would strengthen the witch hunt on the national level.

4) *The ruling attacks the civil-rights movement.* One of the devices used against Negroes in the South is "state's rights." Through the device of state "sedition" and "anti-subversion" laws Southern officials are attempting to outlaw or cripple civil-rights organizations.

At the present time, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an anti-segregationist organization, has appealed to the Supreme Court. The issue is a Louisiana law similar to the Indiana law, under which state officials raided SCEF headquarters and confiscated its files. It was no accident that Hoadley filed a friend-of-the-court brief for Louisiana in this case.

The ruling by the Indiana Supreme Court in favor of this reactionary witch-hunting law is a blow against freedom. It is a blow aimed at the campus, at the Negro, and at all Americans. The freedoms of all are at stake, and the fight against this law and for the Bloomington students deserves the support of all.

## Why One Judge Dissented

The Indiana Anti-Communism act, which that state's Supreme Court just upheld in a split decision, was passed in 1951, during the heyday of McCarthyism. The witch-hunting law is so hair-raising that most of Judge Amos Jackson's dissenting decision is a quotation of the law itself.

Judge Jackson said, "A reading of the statute clearly and indisputably shows it to be unconstitutionally vague. A statute, invoking the police powers of the State in order to provide for internal security and public safety, and thereby impinging upon the constitutionally protected areas of free speech and assembly must so clearly and specifically define the proscribed acts as to leave no doubts as to the nature of the offense and the charge to be met by the defendant."

Here are some provisions of the law:

"It is hereby declared to be the public policy of the state of Indiana and of this act to protect the peace, domestic tranquillity, property rights and interests of the state of Indiana and the people thereof from the tenets of the ideology known as Communism . . .

"It is further declared to be the public policy of the state of Indiana, and of this act, to . . . exterminate Communism and communists, and any or all teachings of the same. . . .

"The Communist Party for purposes of this act is hereby defined as an organization which engages in or advocates, abets, advises, or teaches, or has a purpose which is to engage in or advocate, abet, advise or teach activities intended to overthrow, destroy or alter, or to assist in the overthrow, destruction, or alteration of the constitutional form of the government of the United States, or the State of Indiana, or of any political subdivision thereof, by revolution, force or violence . . .

"It shall be unlawful for any person to be a member of the Communist Party or of any party, group, or organization . . . which engages in any un-American activities . . .

"It shall be unlawful for any person by word of mouth or writing to advocate, advise or teach the duty, necessity, or propriety of overthrowing or overturning the government of the United States or of the state of Indiana . . . or print, publish, edit, issue or knowingly circulate, sell, distribute or publicly display any book, paper, document or written or printed matter in any form for the purpose of advocating, advising or teaching the doctrine that the government of the United States, or of the state of Indiana, shall be overthrown . . .

"Whenever two or more persons assemble for the purpose of advocating or teaching the doctrine that the government of the United States, or of the state of Indiana, should be overthrown by force, violence or any unlawful means, such an assembly is unlawful, and every person voluntarily participating therein by his presence, aid or instigation, shall be guilty of a felony."

It was under the last provision relating to assembly that charges were brought against the three Indiana University students, Tom Morgan, Ralph Levitt, and James Bingham. It carries a one-to-three year jail term for each count under the indictments.

## Background of Bloomington Case

The case of the Bloomington students began in 1962 when a group of students at Indiana University decided to give organizational expression to their socialist beliefs and formed a chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance. They were immediately embroiled in controversy when they were denied official status as a campus club against the conservative Student Senate and the hostile administration.

A second rejection of the YSA's petition for campus status followed by one day a demonstration by YSAers and others against the blockade of Cuba in October, 1962. About 20 anti-blockade demonstrators were met by a mob of several hundred ultra-rightist students and local Bloomington hoodlums. Thousands of students were on-lookers as the ultra-rightists physically attacked the demonstrators. While the police afforded no real protection to the demonstrators, they did arrest two local hoodlums on charges of assault.

In November, Thomas Hoadley, scion of a local stone-quarry magnate and recent graduate of IU's law school, got himself elected local prosecutor by a narrow margin. His first act after taking office in January was to drop charges against the two hoodlums in order to "clear the way" for an investigation into "the part played by the YSA . . . in inciting to riot" during the October demonstration.

This statement initiated Hoadley's smear campaign against the YSA in the press. One of his most ridiculous charges was that the YSA in Bloomington was organized by "Moscow-trained agents."

Shortly after the demonstration against the blockade, the university administration granted campus status to the YSA (under pressure from the faculty). On March 25, Leroy McRae, a Negro and na-

tional officer of the YSA, spoke at an approved campus meeting arranged by the local YSA. McRae discussed the Negro struggle for equal rights.

On May 1, Hoadley secured indictments against Tom Morgan, Ralph Levitt, and James Bingham, three officers of the YSA, at IU. They were charged with having attended McRae's meeting. In his speech, McRae advocated that Negroes use their constitutional right of self-defense when they are attacked by racists. He had given the same speech on many campuses across the country, but this was the first time anyone tried to make out that what he said was criminal, or charged anyone with a thought-crime for having listened to him.

## Second Count

A group of students who had begun to counter Hoadley's witch hunt in January organized the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students to fight the indictment. In June, 1963, the local court threw out Hoadley's indictment because of faulty wording. The "crusading" prosecutor then got another grand jury to re-indict the three students on the same charge, and had another count tacked on.

The second count was that the defendants had again "assembled" on May 2 — the day after the first indictment. And indeed, they had "assembled," in the basement apartment of a friend, in order to discuss their defense against the first indictment. It later turned out that Hoadley had the landlord tape-record this meeting through a heating duct.

The CABS began to develop national and international support. In August, the National Students Association, meeting at IU, voted to endorse the Bloomington students and rejected Hoadley's witch hunt as an attack upon academic freedom. Over 600 professors and

other prominent figures became sponsors of the CABS, and campus chapters were set up across the country. The defendants made intensive tours of the nation's campuses and met with a sympathetic response.

The defense movement mounted as the pre-trial arguments on the constitutionality of the law and on the indictments approached in the spring of 1964.

From the beginning, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee took the case as a test, and provided the services of its general counsel, the eminent constitutional attorney, Leonard Boudin. A lawyer from Louisville, Ky., Daniel T. Taylor III, was retained by CABS as co-counsel with Boudin.

At the pre-trial hearing in March, 1964, Hoadley admitted that the defendants were to be tried not for what they were charged with — having "assembled" on March 25 and May 2 — but for their views. He claimed he was putting "Trotskyism" on trial, and said that whenever the YSAers met they were committing a crime because they were "walking plots against the state."

Judge Nat U. Hill concurred with the defense and ruled the witch-hunt law unconstitutional. Hoadley appealed this decision to the Indiana Supreme Court. This resulted in the recent reversal of Judge Hill's decision. The case now will be appealed by the defense to the federal courts.

## Your Help Is Needed

Funds are urgently needed for the court appeal in the Indiana student case. Send contributions to Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, P.O. Box 213, New York, N. Y. 10003.



## REPORT FROM BELGIUM

## Left-Wing Socialists Plan New Party

BRUSSELS (World Outlook) — There have been several abrupt turns in the crisis of the Belgian Socialist Party since its Dec. 12-13 congress at which the right wing banned participation in the leadership of the Walloon Popular Movement or in publication of *La Gauche*, the left socialist French-language newspaper, or *Links*, the left socialist Flemish-language paper.

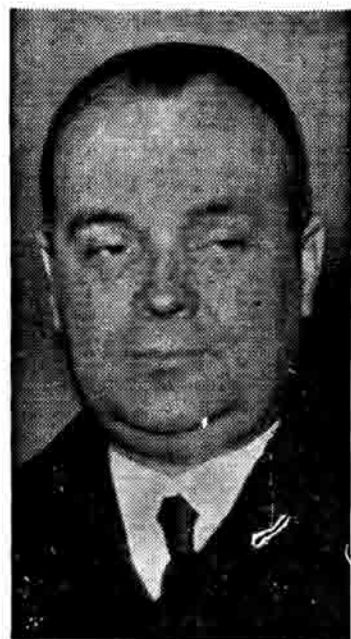
Some 600 left socialist militants, meeting in Liège Dec. 27, decided to lay the basis of a new party, provisionally named the *Parti Socialiste de Travailleurs* [Socialist Workers Party]. This decision was made in reply to the motion railroaded through the congress by the right wing, suppressing the right to form tendencies [groups based on specific views] inside the Socialist Party.

The Liège decision met with a most favorable response in plants and factories throughout Belgium, a fact that was reflected in the coverage given to the development in the country's daily newspapers.

Startled and rather frightened by this response, the right-wing leadership of the Socialist Party suddenly shifted tactics. They drew back from implementing the decisions of the Dec. 12-13 congress and granted some minor concessions to the left wing.

Glinne and Hurez, two left-wing members of parliament, as well as a few figures connected with the Flemish weekly *Links*, buckled under the combination of pressure and blandishments and signed a declaration submitted to them by the right-wing leadership. The declaration, while formally recognizing the right of tendencies in the Socialist Party, restricted the right so severely as to make the concession virtually meaningless.

Two other leaders of the left wing, Yerna, secretary of the Liège trade unions, and Mandel, editor of the weekly *La Gauche*, stood firm. Yerna demonstratively resigned from the Socialist Party; while Mandel rejected the demand that he add his signature to the declaration. Massart, a left-wing member of parliament, joined in



Paul Henri Spaak, Belgian Foreign Minister, is leader of right-wing socialists.

this firm position against the right-wing witch-hunters.

For a few days the public display of differences among leaders of the left wing inevitably caused some confusion. However, the situation was rapidly corrected when the leading bodies of both *La Gauche* and *Links* publicly reaffirmed their stands, stating that they would continue to refuse to sign any declaration whatsoever limiting the right to defend the platforms on which they stood. The decision of *La Gauche* was taken unanimously; *Links* by a two-thirds majority.

A new turn then occurred. Glinne indicated that he was reconsidering the meaning of the declaration he had signed. This brought him under fresh heavy fire from the Socialist Party leadership.

Without paying much attention to these inevitable waverings in the face of a basic decision of the greatest importance to the political future of the Belgian working class, the key left-wing leaders

moved rapidly ahead to launch the new party. On Jan. 18, in an even larger meeting than the previous one, the Liège local adopted a draft program and proposed bylaws.

In the Charleroi region an enthusiastic meeting of some 400 workers called for implementation of the Liège Dec. 27 resolution.

In Brussels, 200 activists, meeting on invitation, laid plans for a membership drive in anticipation of a founding conference projected for Feb. 7.

An indication of the possibilities in Brussels as well as in the rest of Belgium was provided by the impressive success of a rally called to protest against the Belgian paratroop landings in the Congo at the end of November.

The meeting was sponsored by the Brussels Teachers union and the Gas and Electric Workers union on Jan. 15. The main speaker was Pierre Le Grève, chairman of the Teachers union and one of the main initiators of the *Parti Socialiste de Travailleurs* in Brussels. Despite the chauvinistic atmosphere which the Spaak government has sought to whip up in the predominantly petty-bourgeois Belgian capital, despite the strong opposition of all the political parties (only the Communist Party gave support, and that lukewarm, to the rally), and despite a complete conspiracy of silence about the meeting in the daily press, more than 1,000 people jammed into the hall.

The place was so crowded that not even standing room was left and many could not get inside.

A grouping of pro-fascist students announced a "counter-demonstration" in which they planned to hail the colonialist aggression in the Congo. This turned out to be a complete fiasco. The "counter-demonstrators" could not get a single one of their adherents inside the packed hall. They gave up in disgust and went home while the demonstrators against the imperialist role of the Belgian government registered their anger against the intervention in the Congo and their solidarity with the Congolese people.

## Facts About Pentagon

In an article entitled "The Cold War and World Poverty," published in the November issue of *Africa and the World*, British philosopher and peace crusader Bertrand Russell offers the following explanation of why every world crisis brings a boom to the stock market:

Property owned by the United States Defense Department was valued ten years ago at 160 billion dollars. This makes the U.S. Defense Department the world's largest organization.

The Pentagon owns millions of acres of land, including 32 million acres in the United States and nearly three million acres in foreign countries.

The Pentagon building is so large that the Capitol, which seats the United States Government, could be swallowed in one of the five main segments of the Pentagon.

The 1962 budget involved 53 billion dollars for arms, exclusive of the military space program.

Thus, by 1962, 63 cents out of every dollar were spent on appropriations for arms and space expenditure.

A further six cents was spent on veteran services and 80 per cent of interest payments were for military debts.

Seventy-seven cents out of every 100 are spent on past wars, the Cold War and preparations for future war.

The billions of dollars thus funneled into the pockets of the military in the United States provide the Pentagon with economic power affecting every aspect of American life and, therefore, of the lives of mankind.

Military assets in the United States are three times as great as the combined assets of the United States Steel, American Telephone and Telegraph, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, General Motors and Standard Oil of New Jersey.

The employees of the Defense Department are triple the number of all those of these great corporations.

This immense world concentration of power and wealth is closely connected to large industry in the United States.

The billions of dollars in contracts are awarded by the Pentagon and fulfilled by large industry.

In 1960, 21 billion dollars were spent for the procurement of military goods. Ten corporations received 7½ billion dollars, three corporations received one billion dollars each and two others 900 million dollars.

This means that these immensely powerful corporations must cultivate military personnel in the United States.

The result is that 1,400 retired officers above the rank of major are employed by the top corporations which divide the 21 billion dollars.

This list includes 261 generals or [naval] officers of flag rank.

The company with the largest contracts, General Dynamics, has on its payroll 187 retired officers, 27 generals and admirals and a former Secretary of the Army.

IT IS CLEAR THAT AMERICAN POLICY AND THE ARMS RACE SERVE A VAST POWER COMPLEX INTERCONNECTED AND INTERESTED IN THE PERPETUATION OF THE ARMS RACE FOR ITS OWN SAKE.

This concentration of power spreads throughout the economy of the United States.

Sub-contracts awarded by war contractors involve every city of any size. The jobs at stake involve millions of people. Nearly four million people work for the Defense Department alone.

Their payroll is 12 billion dollars, or twice that of the automobile industry of the United States.

A further four million people



Defense Secretary McNamara heads up Vietnam war. Previously he headed Ford Motor Company during production of short-lived Edsel.

are employed directly in arms industries.

This means that over eight million Americans depend for their jobs on the military establishment.

In certain areas of the United States the percentage is far higher. Missile production accounts for 82 per cent of all manufacturing jobs in San Diego, California, 72 per cent in Wichita, Kansas, and 53 per cent in Seattle, Washington.

Defense contracts alone account for 30 per cent of all manufacturing employment in Kansas, Washington, New Mexico, California and Connecticut. Arms industries spend five billion dollars annually in California alone. In Los Angeles, over half the jobs depend directly or indirectly on arms expenditure.

IN THE UNITED STATES AS A WHOLE, NEARLY 50 PER CENT OF ALL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY HINGES UPON MILITARY SPENDING.

The economic investment in the arms race, in the Cold War, in perpetuation of exploitation and in retaining the relationship which now exists between impoverished countries and wealthy ones is overwhelming.

Every food store, every petrol [gasoline] station, requires the perpetuation of war production. The meaning of this is that the United States cannot afford peace unless it is prepared for the most profound transformation of its society.

## ... Whitmore

(Continued from Page 1)

sembling Janice Wylie found on Whitmore at the time of his arrest. According to the "confession" Whitmore picked up the photo at the murder scene. But Whitmore said he found it in his hometown — Wildwood, New Jersey. The Manhattan district attorney's investigation, as well as one by Whitmore's lawyers, revealed the photo to be of a girl in Wildwood, not of Janice Wylie. The investigations also turned up witnesses who had seen Whitmore in Wildwood — 150 miles from New York — the day of the Wylie-Hoffert murders.

The Jan. 28 *New York Times* quotes two Manhattan assistant district attorneys on the occasion of the dropping of the Wylie-Hoffert charges against Whitmore.

Said one: "I am positive that the police prepared the confession for Whitmore, just as his lawyers charged a few days ago." Said the other: "Call it what you want — brain washing, hypnosis, fright. They made him give an untrue confession."

But the police are now claiming the three "confessions" must be considered separately, and the Brooklyn District Attorney insists on pressing the charges based on the other two.

## World Events

## Latest Soviet 'Unperson'

A new college textbook on Soviet history, authorized for publication six weeks after Khrushchev's ouster, has appeared in the Soviet Union. According to a *United Press* dispatch from Moscow, it mentions only three things about Khrushchev: 1) that with other top officials he was assigned to military work when World War II started; 2) that he was a member of the Military Council at Stalingrad; and 3) that he was elected First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party in 1953. Students couldn't learn from the book that he was Soviet premier since 1958, or that he played a major role in both Soviet and world affairs in the past decade. Policies formerly attributed to him are ascribed to the Central Committee.

## King Has Escalator Clause

The Belgian Senate has given King Baudouin a raise (to protect the royal person from unnecessary hardships). His salary went up from \$840,000 a year to an even \$1 million! And if the cost of living should rise, he is guaranteed an automatic pay increase, so inflation can't eat into his buying power.

## Military Motives in Vietnam

A clue to the motives of South Vietnamese generals in overthrowing each other's governments was reported by Jack Langguth in the Jan. 30 *New York Times*. Some lower-ranking Vietnamese field of-

ficers, says Langguth, suspect that "the political generals, including the young nationalists who overthrew Premier Tran Van Huong on Wednesday, are interested chiefly in the financial gain that may accompany high political positions."

## Criticize French CP Tops

The French Union of Communist Students, which has been at odds with the adult party leadership for over a year, has published in its monthly magazine *Clarté* a strongly critical letter to the party's Central Committee. Emphasizing the need for "profound democracy" and "real debate in the party," the letter states: "We are so far from this democracy we seek that today we wonder where we are headed." The students laid the lack of democracy and the party's difficulties to "Stalinist deviationism."

## Mozambicans Blame U.S.

In a New Year's message, the Central Committee of the Mozambique Liberation Front called on the people of the Portuguese East African colony to step up their armed struggle in 1965. Since the struggle began in October, the committee said, important results have been achieved. Dozens of Portuguese soldiers have been killed, many wounded, and a large quantity of arms captured. The declaration said that the Portuguese were able to hold on to Mozambique and other colonies "only because of the military and economic aid

that they receive from their NATO allies, particularly the United States."

## Japan's Rulers Shift Right

Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party, under its new premier, Eisaku Sato, has apparently decided the time is ripe for a sharp shift to the right. At its annual convention, on Jan. 19, it adopted as goals for 1965: 1) revision of the anti-war clause in Japan's constitution; and 2) a consolidation of conservative forces against the Japanese left. Previously Japan's capitalist rulers paid formal respect to the overwhelmingly popular clause aimed at preventing repetition of the catastrophe of World War II. It also had refrained from trying to rally the growing neo-Fascist, emperor-worshipping and militarist elements against the workers' organizations and left-wing parties.

## Beat Back Sales Tax

The Colombian government has avoided a nation-wide general strike by making some concessions on a newly imposed sales tax that sharply increased living costs for workers. After lengthy negotiations, the Union of Colombian Workers called off the strike the day before it was scheduled to start. The strike threat was considered Colombian President Leon Valencia's gravest crisis yet. Fearing it would "jeopardize stability," the government began a propaganda campaign that the strike had "subversive intentions."



# Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

## Baltimore Steel Unionist

Baltimore, Md.

During this union presidential campaign, Baltimore's steel workers have been turning out in large numbers to hear the two top union bureaucrats fighting for rank-and-file support to determine which bureaucrat is best qualified to sip tea with millionaire LBJ.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

"Suppose Jefferson Davis and the remnants of his slaveholders' army in 1865 had fled to the Florida Keys and the British had thrown a mighty war fleet around those islands and threatened war against the United States if it tried to drive the slaveocrats from their rat hole on U.S. territory.

"That's like the situation today around the Chinese islands of Formosa and the Pescadores. The use of the U.S. 7th Fleet to safeguard dictator Chiang Kai-shek, who was driven off the China mainland by the Chinese revolutionary people, is an imperialist outrage.

"The pretext that this intervention in the Chinese civil war is 'defense' of America is ridiculous. We can well imagine what would happen if the Chinese government were to send ships and planes to cut off Catalina Island from the U.S. mainland with the excuse of maintaining China's 'unbroken' line of 'defense' against the U.S. The shooting war would begin long before a single Chinese plane came within sight of these islands.

"Aggressive overseas wars can be conducted today only by the mightiest industrial powers with massive navies. It is nonsense on the face of it to speak of China, which does not have the means to build a single large-size modern naval vessel, as a 'threat' to this country. The U. S. News and World Report sneered at the Chinese 'navy' as a 'fleet of oversized rowboats,' while the U.S. maintains the mightiest navy ever known. That's sufficient to show who has the aggressive aims." — Feb. 7, 1965.

## 20 Years Ago

"The three conspirators are meeting again. As before, secrecy — complete and impenetrable — shrouds the conference of Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt. Not a single word has been officially issued concerning the agenda of the conference or the plans of the participants. Even the correspondents of the prostituted world press, whose reports are censored and re-censored by civil and military authorities, are barred. The doors are securely bolted. Against whom?

"Certainly not against enemy intelligence — for everyone knows that the principal topics before the conference will be political not military, exactly as they were at Teheran, at Cairo, at Moscow, at Quebec. The doors are locked against the peoples. The arch-plotters of the counter-revolution are planning the division of Europe, the despoilation of its resources, the suppression and exploitation of its stricken peoples." — Feb. 10, 1945.

McDonald, president of the union and member of the Canton Country Club of Palm Springs, and his invisible shadow of the past 12 years, I. W. Abel, have both been campaigning in Maryland's District 8. McDonald last week and Abel tonight in the Steelworkers' Hall near the Bethlehem Steel Company.

McDonald used the "I-have-been-and-will-continue-to-be" and the "I-love-you" approach. Tonight, Abel used the "I-will-do-what-wasn't-done" and "I'm-from-the-ranks" pitch.

Both spoke without a glimmer of militancy (the militancy which made it possible for both of them to have a union in which to be officers). They were rather reminiscent of any ordinary Democratic politician promising "pie in the sky."

McDonald's faction — with the help of Wall Street and the mass press — have been propagating (with some success in this area) the idea that if "strike-happy," "racist" Abel is elected the workers will spend the rest of their lives on the picket line.

But the fact is that the workers are on the move. Integrated workers are talking, arguing and thinking about working conditions, take-home pay and union democracy.

Tonight, for example, during the ten-minute question and answer period, after Abel made a speech about the lack of leadership of the present administration (in which he was second only to McDonald), a worker got up and asked "Where the hell were you?"

Steel Worker

## Against Support to Dockers

Red Bank, N. J.

You are doing a good job, in general, and I can only praise you for the vast majority of your articles.

However, I really must take exception to the article about the dock strikers in the issue of Jan. 18, page 1.

These are the same workers, and the same union, which refused to load and unload ships carrying cargo to the Soviet Union. They have done this on many occasions. Also ships that traded with Cuba.

I don't think that this union, and these workers, need any sympathy from us; as a matter of fact, I think they would repudiate it. And I don't think they are entitled to space on the first page, or anywhere else in *The Militant*.

R.S.

[It is a mistake to make an identity between the rank-and-file and the officialdom of the International Longshoremen's Association. The so-called anti-communist boycotts of certain ships on the East Coast docks are ordered by the officialdom for their own reasons. And, incidentally, neither anti-communism, patriotism, nor rank-and-file sentiment have very much to do with these ILA boycotts. They are largely a pressure device on U.S. government agencies and import-exporters to get more cargoes for U.S. ships as opposed to foreign ships.

The ILA leaders simply hide behind the flag and "anti-communism" in carrying out a pressure move deemed mutually agreeable to themselves, to certain shipping interests and to certain officials of seamen's unions.

Nevertheless, these boycotts are, of course, acts of international scabbery. And it is a fact that

while the rank-and-file don't initiate or demand these actions, they do, by and large, go along with them. Many longshoremen do accept as good coin the anti-communist propaganda which pervades the country, but they are by no means unique among American workers in this respect.

Workers often hold reactionary ideas, but they are also capable of learning that such ideas, in the long run, serve the interests of the bosses, not their own. When the longshoremen strike for better wages and conditions against their employers, the government, their own corrupt union leadership, they are waging the good fight and we support them no matter what we think of other ideas they hold. This is a basic principle of class-struggle solidarity. Because the ILA leadership violates this principle is no reason for socialists to do so.—EDITOR]

## Anti-Government Plan

Baltimore, Md.

If the federal government were consistent and fired not just the Air Force cadets who were caught cheating, but fired all officials who got where they are through subterfuge and other forms of cheating, pretty soon we could end up with no government at all.

A. Robert Kaufman

## Explaining Socialism

Newark, N. J.

A person reading *The Militant* for the first time would be very much impressed with the truthful

news which has been distorted or omitted by the capitalist news media. But the chances are that this person will never become a socialist because he still does not know what socialism or communism is.

The great majority of the people will not make the effort to wade through a thick book to find out. A major reason for this is that this capitalist system makes it necessary for people to work such long hours that one's leisure is very limited.

What I want is that any person reading one issue of *The Militant* for the first time should become sold on the principles of socialism and communism.

Therefore I propose that *The Militant* maintain a column in every issue explaining to all new readers what the principles of socialism and communism are. How capitalism causes waste, unemployment and much longer hours of work than necessary due to the waste. How public ownership of the means of production will mean the greatest freedom for all people, plenty for everybody, and shortest hours of work for everybody and take the struggle out of making a living for all people.

That wasteful jobs would be eliminated, such as salesmen, advertising, overlapping deliveries from different companies, insurance, etc. And, finally, all armaments and armed forces. How this would reduce working hours instead of causing unemployment. That automation would be a blessing because it would further re-

duce hours while producing plenty for all.

And finally when the whole world becomes socialist, by local revolutions, the possibility of war would be eliminated because the cause of war will be eliminated — the exploitation of man by man.

Thus, all people would have security. The profits will go back to the people in the form of free hospitals, free education (including college), retirement at full standard pay. Big differences in salaries would be eliminated, thus eliminating the selfish wealth hogs that exist under capitalism. This would further increase the standard of living of all the people.

Explain to new readers that the principles of socialism and communism are really the same. That the Soviet Union is a degenerated form and why it's not a true representative of communism, but does have the advantage of a planned economic system.

Such a column should be brief, right to the point and kept in the paper issue after issue with maybe slight changes. It could be entitled: "An explanation of socialism and communism, especially for new readers."

D.A.

[Our staff agrees that there is not enough general educational material about socialism in *The Militant* and has been discussing how to tackle this problem in an effective way. Suggestions from other readers on this problem will be welcomed.—EDITOR.]

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Favors Death Penalty** — A Jan. 21 Toronto dispatch to the *New York Times* reported: "A man identified as Canada's official executioner has endorsed the use of the death penalty. The man . . . said in a radio interview that he favored capital punishment 'for the simple reason that there are so many people that are unemployed that just don't want to work. I contend that if a man is a born bum,' he continued, 'if capital punishment is abolished, all he has to do is shoot someone in the street, he is sentenced to life with three meals a day in a warm room, and has a bed, and that is more than what a bum wants . . .'"

**Lost His Shirt** — An Iranian exile was awarded \$104,316 in New York for fire damage to his Fifth Avenue apartment, its furnishings and his clothing, which included 392 suits. In making the award to Khaibar Khan, the judge agreed with the insurance company that there was "considerable evidence" of arson but rejected the idea that the Khaibar Khan had knowledge of this. The suitless plaintiff has two other suits pending in New York in which he is seeking to collect \$1.25 million each from a brother and sister of the Shah of Iran for alleged misappropriation of funds.

**How to Sell Sex** — Helen Gurley Brown, author of *Sex and the Single Girl*, gave a group of New York advertisers pointers on how to sell products to single girls. Asked if sex and sincerity could be joined in the same ad, she replied: "Of course it can. We all know that the best sex is sincere."

**Sales vs. Safety** — The auto industry spent \$282 million on advertising in 1963. During the same

period it spent \$2 million on safety research and promotion. Roy C. Haeusler, Chrysler's safety engineer, explains: "One dollar's worth of advertising has to produce one dollar's worth of profit to break even. We know full well that advertising safety does not produce that return."

**Prospects for Youth** — The unemployment rate for teen-agers stands at the 15 per cent mark and, according to the President's Council of Economic Advisers, "Without specific policy measures aimed to improve the access of teen-agers to job opportunities, their unemployment rates will continue to be high under any except labor shortage conditions."

**Drama Lovers or Comsymps?** — For long years the people who run the International Longshoremen's Association cultivated their anti-Communist record by refusing to load or unload ships bound for "Communist" countries. (See letter, (this page.) But during the present strike Assistant Labor Secretary James Reynold suggested that "Communists" were behind rank-and-file votes against accepting a proposed industry contract.

Mr. Reynold may feel bolstered in his assertion by the Feb. 1 report that ILA officials permitted the unloading of scenery brought by the Moscow Art Theater for its engagement at New York's City Center. Only perishable and military cargo have been unloaded during the strike.

**Our Free-Enterprise System** — Frauds against consumers reached a record high in New York last year, with more than 100,000 complaints processed by the State Law Department. The department said that more than \$1.25 million was recovered for victimized consumers. No estimate was offered on the extent of unreported frauds.

**New York Hospital Care** — Forty-five per cent of the hospital beds that are reserved for long-term care in New York State are housed in buildings that are not fire-resistant.

**Madison Avenue Formula** — Ad man Whit Hobbs is "against turning creative people loose, with no guidelines, no aims." He said he favors "directed creativity." Now if he could figure out how to package it, he'd have a new product.

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## Thought for the Week

If only somehow fat profits could be made out of building men, as they are out of building missiles, the poverty program might be something more than a bone tossed from a well-laden table. The fast buck is still in making and inventing ways to destroy, to kill and to waste." — The Feb. 2 I. F. Stone's Weekly.



## VICTORY IN NORTH CAROLINA

## Monroe 'Kidnap' Verdict Upset

By George Lavan

The North Carolina Supreme Court on Jan. 29 threw out the convictions in the Monroe "kidnap" case. The court quashed the indictments on which the trial in Union County Superior Court a year ago was based. The quashing of the indictments automatically vacated the verdicts of guilty, and dismissed the prison sentences.

The defendants were: Mrs. Mae Mallory, sentenced to 16 to 20 years; Richard Crowder, seven to ten years; Harold Reape, five to seven years; and John Lowry, three to five years.

North Carolina's high court based its action on a finding that the grand jury, which had brought the indictments, had been selected by a process which systematically excluded Negroes.

Also affected by the quashing of the indictments is the legal status of Robert F. Williams, former president of the Union County branch of the NAACP.

## Williams Threatened

This militant leader of Monroe's black community, who at present enjoys political asylum in Cuba, was the primary figure in the indictments. Threatened with lynching, Williams fled from Monroe with his wife and two children. When the framed-up indictment was handed down and the FBI put out a national dragnet for him, he went to Canada and later to Cuba.

The notorious Monroe "kidnap" case originated in the events of August 1961. Several dozen Freedom Riders, just out of prison in Mississippi, went to Monroe to aid in the anti-Jim Crow struggle there. They organized a local committee and held classes in non-violent techniques, then began picketing the courthouse. Though Williams was well-known as an advocate of self-defense, he urged the Negro community to back the Freedom Riders in their non-violent efforts.

## Police Provoke Riot

Mounting violence against the picket line culminated on Aug. 27 in a police-encouraged riot by thousands of white-supremacists. Some pickets were arrested, others took refuge in the police station. All, finally, had charges placed against them by the police and a number were badly beaten. Negroes in the downtown area were chased, beaten, and shot at.

In New Town, the main Negro neighborhood, rumors flew of an impending KKK invasion. Negroes from the rural areas flocked in. Men got out their rifles to defend their families.

At this point Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Stegall, a white couple, drove into the heart of New Town. A crowd, suspicious of their motives, stopped their car and or-



WIN APPEAL. John Lowry, Harold Reape and Richard Crowder (from left to right), defendants in Monroe "kidnap" case.

dered them to get out. They were taken further down the street to Williams' house. Hearing the noise, he came out. He says he told them they were free to leave but, afraid of the crowd, they followed him into his house. They claim they were ordered in and were held prisoners.

## Police Phone Williams

Unharmed, they left the Negro neighborhood after about two hours and drove home. Williams relates that he received a phone call from the chief of police who told him New Town was being surrounded by state police and that in an hour he would be hanging in the courthouse square. At this point Williams gathered his family together and fled.

Richard Crowder, a 19-year-old local Negro youth, Harold Reape, 17-year-old local Negro youth, and John Lowry a 20-year-old white Freedom Rider from New York, were arrested within a few days and held on "kidnaping" charges.

Mrs. Mae Mallory, a 38-year-old Negro mother, who had been visiting Williams and had helped in the housing and feeding of the Freedom Riders, was arrested several months later in Cleveland, Ohio. For two years she conducted an unsuccessful fight against extradition to North Carolina.

The February, 1963, trial took place in an anti-Negro, witch-hunting atmosphere. The local press trumpeted false stories about the imminent arrival of the top Communist Party leaders who had "adopted" the defense.

During the trial a contingent of burly whites were conspicuous in the court room and in the corridors during recesses. The defendants and their attorneys — as well as the jurors — were all made clearly aware of their presence.

The jury, of course, was lily white.

## Jury Selection Attacked

Defense attorneys made numerous appeals against the verdicts. The one on which the North Carolina Supreme Court overturned the convictions was that attacking the jury-selection system as racially discriminatory.

The basis for this appeal was laid by Richard Scupi, a civil-rights attorney from Washington, D.C., retained by the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, the defense group formerly active in the case. Scupi and his partner, Hal Witt, had previously won a reversal for the CAMD in a Monroe case involving a young supporter

of Williams, on the basis of the discriminatory jury-selection system.

Prior to the "kidnap" trial, Scupi went to Monroe and made a further intensive study of the entire jury system there. At the trial he argued the motion to quash the indictments. In effect, he conducted a trial within a trial. He subpoenaed county officials and their records and demonstrated that all Negroes on the tax rolls had the designation "col." an abbreviation for "colored," after their names. This made it possible for those selecting the grand jury panel simply to throw out such names when drawn. Scupi's proof was overwhelming and irrefutable.

## Can Be Retried

Still unannounced is the action Union County officials will now take. The North Carolina Supreme Court said the defendants might be tried again if indictments were returned by "an unexceptionable grand jury." "It does not follow," it added, "that the defendants are entitled to dismissal of the charges."

Union County Prosecutor M. G. Boyette commented: "Juries in all counties of North Carolina will have to be drawn in conformance with the decision of the State Supreme Court in this case."

Until and unless Union County decides to re-indict the four defendants, who have been free on bail, they are clear of the framed-up "kidnap" charges for the first time in three and a half years.



Mae Mallory

## New York Tenant Leader Worked Over by Cops

By William Bundy

NEW YORK — The executive board of the Community Council on Housing (CCOH) — the tenants' group which has led the Harlem rent strikes — called on Jan. 29 for the dismissal of New York City Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy because of the department's "widespread use of frame-ups." The board also called for the removal of plainclothes policeman Michael Sitko of the Sixth Division who arrested and beat Major Williams, assistant director of the CCOH.

Williams was arrested Jan. 24 on a trumped-up "policy" [gambling numbers] charge and brutally beaten while in custody at the 25th precinct.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Williams said he had gone to a building at 19 E. 117th St. to speak to a CCOH member living there about some activity for the next day. At the building, Williams said, he encountered a white man in plain clothes searching two tenants.

"When I asked him what he was doing," Williams said, "he called me a 'smart nigger' and started searching me. He didn't identify himself. He hit me and handcuffed me and took me to the station. While I was emptying my pockets at the station, he started beating on me again. I dodged and he fell against the side of a bench. Then he got real mad and came back with a black-jack and beat me some more. I got lacerations on the head and bruises on the face and body."

The two tenants were arrested on charges of violation of the Alcoholic Beverages Control Act. Williams was charged with resisting arrest, possession of policy slips and felonious assault on the cop in the police station. Speaking

of the charges, the 24-year-old rent-strike organizer said:

"I think he picked me up in the first place because I demanded his identification. Then they had to have some excuse for arresting me so they brought in the policy thing. But that's ridiculous. The only policy I had was what they put on me. I'm not a numbers runner and everyone knows it. I have no criminal record of any kind." Williams' only previous arrest occurred last year during the attempted eviction of a rent striker, but the charges were dropped.

## Assault Charge

"As for the charge that I beat up the cop in the station," said Williams, "that's too funny for words. You know if I'd tried any such thing I'd be lucky to get out alive. But they are trying to make a case out of it. When I appeared in court, Sitko came in on crutches all bandaged up and claimed he was too beat up to testify, so they postponed the trial for a month."

Williams is scheduled to appear in court March 2 on the numbers charge and March 3 on the assault charge. He is free on \$1,000 bail. Williams said his picture, along with those of CCOH Director Jesse Gray and other community leaders, is posted in the Harlem precinct. "This leaves you open to attack at any time," he said.

In calling for Police Commissioner Murphy's dismissal, the CCOH board referred to the acknowledged police frame-up in the notorious Whitmore case. The board also called for the immediate dismissal of Chief of Detectives Lawrence McKearney, the assistant district attorney assigned to the Whitmore case, and "every policeman present when the three confessions were forced from Whitmore."

## Johnson Pressures Dockers To End East Coast Stoppage

By Tom Leonard

NEW YORK, Feb. 3 — President Lyndon B. Johnson, who wooed workers' votes in the November elections by posing as a friend of labor, "appealed" to striking longshoremen Feb. 2 to return to work in Atlantic and Gulf ports where local contracts had been agreed on. This strike-busting request came only a few days after a similar demand by Alexander P. Chopin, chief negotiator for New York's stevedoring bosses.

Johnson is, in effect, asking members of the International Longshoremen's Association, whose strike already has been subjected to a Taft-Hartley injunction and an 80-day "cooling-off" period, to weaken their strike and to abandon a long-established union policy that no port return to work until all ports have settled.

## Strikers Witch-hunted

Another pressure put on the strikers was a witch-hunting campaign. This was opened by Brooklyn ILA President Anthony Scotto at a Jan. 19 membership meeting. Supposedly "explaining" the contract, whose contents the men know and mistrust, Scotto reportedly spent at least 20 minutes identifying indigenous rank-and-file resistance to it with leftist views.

Labor-hating columnists then began beating this same phony drum in the daily newspapers.

Then came a red-baiting attack, primarily on Baltimore longshoremen, by U.S. Assistant Secretary of Labor James J. Reynolds, Jr. From New Orleans, where he

was supposed to be acting as an impartial mediator in the strike, Reynolds threatened to call on the FBI to investigate longshoremen in the ports of Baltimore, New York and "anywhere else where there is subversive activity on our waterfronts." His smear came after Baltimore strikers voted down a contract on Jan. 27 and just before they voted to accept the same contract on Feb. 1.

Actually, both Scotto's and Reynolds' red-baiting was calculated to intimidate rank-and-file strikers into voting for a contract they understood and didn't want.

Every contract offered to the union since negotiations began seven months ago was designed to slash jobs, initiate speed-up and otherwise undermine longshore working conditions. Every opposition to these contracts has centered on these issues. Rank-and-file opponents of the contracts understood this without being told.

In some cases, they forced local union leaders to support their opposition. In Baltimore, for example, four out of six local ILA presidents came out in opposition to the contract before it was rejected on the first vote.

In New Orleans there was similar opposition which carried over into a reaction of Johnson's appeal to end the strike in ports where agreements had been reached. Alfred Chittenden, president of one of the largest ILA locals in that port, warned that any attempt to implement Johnson's appeal would lead to "chaos and strife."



Robert F. Williams